/216 cont./

627 decided upon and carried out by individuals. They are variants of the
686 major sanction, namely social isolation, the nature and importance of
689 which we have pointed out. With respect to the removal of the head, we have nothing to say since the facts speak for themselves.

629 After this general survey we may conclude:
692 First, that it is certain that arbiters, groups and individuals
182 determined by circumstances or by a regulation, actually perform the
626 legal functions set forth at the beginning. They enforce and demand respect for the order dictated by the customs and general ideas of their society. The first two /arbiters and groups/ do so by relying on the group and its dynamics; the individuals close /by means of/ their own specific functions recognized by the group and supported by it when they fulfill them.

Second, that the rules of organization and functioning of Sarakatsani groups, stated above, their customs as well as what we have called "their general social ideas" take the place of rules or prescriptions of law. For, depending on the cases and the circumstances, conformity to them is required. And they are followed as a result of the mechanism of "sanction-coercion," either visible or disguised.

Sarakatsani society therefore has law and agencies of law. Though they are not always apparent, they nonetheless exist.

673 CRIME AND MISDEMEANORS AMONG THE SARAKATSANI.

694 The Sarakatsani consider a certain number of acts as crimes or
(128) misdemeanors. We propose in this section to describe them, as well as to indicate the punishments associated with them and the means of which they are carried out.

Homicide and assault.

682 Respect for life and for the integrity of the body is a rule the violation of which leads to the death of the culprit.

/217/ This rule must not be considered identical with that of the penal code. A look at the situations in which it is applied will suffice

837 /220 cont./
577 "in the end is a man and is only seeking his pleasure."
562 Rape and abduction of a young girl.
626
684 These two acts are also punished with death by the relatives of the victim. But they too are extremely rare.

583 The kidnapping, the abduction of a young girl usually is a form of
784 vengeance. It happens that a suitor whose proposals have been evaded by
627 the relatives of the young girl avenges himself by carrying her off
[584] forcibly with the help of his friends.

However, if the abductor then does not consent to marry her the men of the victim's family have the duty to kill him. The justification for the punishment resides in the principles which have been set forth above.

685 The theft of animals.
[694] This act is either a crime or an exploit according to circumstances.
[693] If the thief is caught in the act he is killed on the spot by the shepherds watching their flocks. If he is identified after the deed he must give up the stolen animals in order to acquit himself. If he refuses, he risks being either killed by the injured shepherds or of being deprived of part of his flock in retaliation.

685 /221/ However, an animal thief not caught is the subject of admiration
555 by all, even his victims. For it is not easy to carry off his exploit. In
597 order to manage it, the thief must crawl and climb, without noise in the dark of night without a moon, across gorges and rocks, elude the watch of armed shepherds, escape the scent of the terrible dogs capable of tearing him to shreds in an instant, carry off the sheep without having them bleat of sound their bells, and disappear with them silently into the night.

685 On the other hand, to steal animals in a fixed sheepfold of the winter
577 camp is a shameful act that brings disgrace to the one guilty of it.

685 Finally, this code, so to speak, regarding animal theft implies another
577 rule:
783 The thief unidentified and therefore unpunished is in any case

/221 cont./

685 577 783 [784] responsible to God for the sin which he has committed. In order to be absolved he must later confess his sin publicly "during a drinking bout among pals or during the shearing." His account testifies at one and the same time to his pride in the accomplished prowess and to his belief in punishment inflicted by the Supreme Judge, the remission of which is dependent on this which unfortunately we cannot go into more deeply for lack of data. This aspect is encountered again in another case: that of the destruction of a beehive. That act is considered criminal for, through it, "one kills many souls" (the souls of the bees) and deprives the Church of the wax that the bees could produce.

685 577 825 [674] [744]

This way of adjusting the punishment to the circumstances merits our attention. For it shows us how Sarakatsani society conceives of justice and reparation in these specific instances.

685 577

By shooting at the thief they are merely defending their property and possible their lives. Any recourse to protection from the police is not possible to those who live in the mountains and on the edge of a hostile and indifferent state; so there is nothing left for them but to shoot at the one who threatens (and in any case with an armed hand) to deprive them of their means of subsistence and possibly their lives.

[625]

/222/ If, after the theft, they are content to demand restitution of the animals carried off or simply to retaliate in order to be compensated, that is because there is no longer any question of defense, and all that is involved is compensation for the damage caused. If the culprit does not want to conform, his refusal is merely a further challenge, a new wound to the pride of the robbed owner; and it is in response to this humiliation that the latter seeks to kill the thief. If he does not do so he will be dishonored in the eyes of his associates.

Finally, the pride of the unpunished thief and the admiration of the others for his prowess are very understandable. Among a people who live in difficult and always dangerous conditions, courage and skill, even when directed toward evil, inspire respect. However, the public confession shows that the bravery does not gainsay the illegal character of this act.

[559] [783]